/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

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b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator
[776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
● 683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./

756 [754] [683] on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 787 [262] [263] If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condiment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

000 /288 cont./
7756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/257 cont./

757 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 ● 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the [783] sorcerer sent him ptans.

[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or 789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[108] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that 182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

●683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by 754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/261 cont./

683 554 754 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu: "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 [623] In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 184 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951, they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.